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- ART. III.—1. *An Account of the Reformatory Institution for Juvenile Offenders at Mettray, in France, from the Pamphlet of M. AUGUSTUS COCHIN, LL. D., and an Introduction by Rev. G. H. HAMILTON, M. A., Chaplain to Durham County Gaol.* London. 1853.
2. *Annual Report (First) of the Trustees of the State Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, together with the Annual Reports of the Officers of the Institution.* Boston. 1857.
3. *Social Statics, or the Conditions essential to Human Happiness specified, and the first of them developed.* By HERBERT SPENCER. London. 1851.
4. *Crime, its Amount, Causes, and Remedies.* By F. D. HILL, Barrister at Law, late Inspector of Prisons. London. 1853.

WHEN Jeremy Bentham wrote his noted treatise on the Theory of Punishments, neither he nor the world for which he wrote had as yet conceived the idea of any extended system by which crime and its punishment should be alike anticipated, and the necessity for jails, prisons, gibbets, and other stern institutions of like nature, be gradually, though effectively, lessened. He wrote for his readers no doubt wisely and well, and later in life carried out his theory in a system of penitentiaries which was approved by the good and abhorred by the bad; yet it was still a severe system of punishment for criminals, with no thought of correction, of reformation, or of prevention, but only of expiation, and that of the severest sort. But since Bentham's day, the ever-active heart of philanthropy, aided by the brains of philosophers, and the figures of statisticians, has devised a class of establishments differing from jails and prisons in not having punishment for their sole object; from almshouses and asylums in not making bodily sustenance their aim; and from schools, inasmuch as intellectual education is for the most part only subsidiary, but yet combining in themselves, and directing towards their most imperative end, all the good intentions and influences of these three great social agencies. These establishments, though existing under many diversities of form, and really varying materially in design and management, still possess so

much in common, both of positive and negative qualities, that they may appropriately enough be classed together, at least for all purposes of discussion, under the name of *Reformatory Institutions*. Houses of Industry, Houses of Refuge, Houses of Reformation, Reform Schools, Industrial Schools, Farm Schools, — under whichever of these or of other names they may appear, they still unite in the one great object of reform instead of punishment, and in nearly every instance are specially intended for the reception of that class with which reform is always most hopeful, namely, the young, whom continual association has habituated to wretchedness and crime from their birth, and to whose eyes has never been presented the dignity of virtue or the beauty of an honorable life. Whether considered as a matter of humanity, or merely of political economy, it will scarcely be contended that to ignore the dangers which surround the young in the lower classes of large cities, and to pay no attention to them until great crimes have succeeded to lesser offences, and reform is hopeless, is the wise course for any Christian community in the nineteenth century. And however much opinions may differ as to the final penalty to be inflicted when the last step in the long career of crime has been taken, (a point which we do not now intend to discuss,) the course in the beginning is so obvious, the means so ready to our hands, and the natural passion in all races for experiments in solving social problems so general, that we can only wonder that the great thinker above referred to, who devoted all his maturer years to the contemplation of kindred themes, should not in his meditations have struck on this idea of *prevention* and *reform*. The quarter of a century since his death has seen a rapid progress in this as in many other forms of charity, and it may perhaps be said that the problem is solved, and the solution accepted and approved by the general voice of mankind.

In our own country, as might be expected when the case in question concerns institutions, we have done much. Indeed, the first establishment of the kind, it is believed, was undertaken by the city of Boston in 1826, under the name of the House of Reformation, and its success, as exhibited by its annual reports, has induced imitations of and improvements

upon it throughout and beyond the Northern States, until now they number nearly as follows: in Massachusetts, four; in New York, two; in Pennsylvania, two; and in Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Ohio, Illinois, Maryland, Missouri, and Louisiana, one each. The State of Indiana has three in the process of erection; and a commission appointed by the New Hampshire Legislature has perfected its designs and commenced the buildings for a similar enterprise at Manchester. Truly, we in America have just reason for pride in the rapidity with which good institutions are multiplied over our country. But it is surprising, that, out of this score of houses of refuge and reformation which are, or will shortly be, in full operation among us, there are but two (with the exception of those expressly maintained as penal institutions) which provide in the smallest degree for the protection of those who, of all unfortunates, are dying for want of a refuge, — the girls of the perishing classes in large communities. It is their cry which rings loudest up to Heaven, their need which is most pressing, their danger which is most imminent and terrible; and yet, two years ago, nay, even one year ago, of all these great charities, not one stretched out its hand to help and protect these sufferers. In Massachusetts, the need has been supplied by the establishment at Lancaster of the "State Industrial School for Girls," which, designed on a plan essentially similar to that of the Reform School for Boys at Westborough, and established half by legislative appropriation and half by voluntary contribution, commenced operations in August of last year, and of which the trustees and officers have lately presented the first Annual Report. From the tone of conscious success and of satisfaction which runs through this document, it may be gathered that the institution is no longer an experiment, but has established its own reputation, and its obvious right to the approbation and support of the Commonwealth. That the support already granted is not regretted by the government, is evinced by the following extract from His Excellency the Governor's last annual Address to the Legislature.

"The neglected children of other commonwealths may have reason to bless our State for the organization of this noble charity. Thus far

the system adopted works admirably, and gives promise of the most happy results. Not one inmate has been received, who would not in all human probability have been ruined, had not the State interposed its parental protection, and not one that does not give promise of becoming, under its family training, an instance and witness of its success.

“Some misapprehension exists as to the appropriate subjects for this school. They should not be hardened criminals, nor children of impaired or idiotic minds, nor confirmed invalids whose care is somewhat onerous to their parents. There are other and fitter institutions for all these; and the success and widest good of this school will depend on placing under its ministration only those whose unformed habits, intellectual activity, and physical powers will enable them to reap the greatest benefits from its influences. I would especially impress on the various commissioners appointed to admit pupils the deep responsibility resting upon them. To a great degree they hold the success or failure of the institution in their keeping.

“It is believed that the full number of inmates that can be accommodated in the three houses will be admitted in a few months, and after witnessing the anticipated result of the existing system, it is hoped that the noble generosity of some of our philanthropic citizens will link their names with this beneficent charity by providing for the erection of further buildings, for many of which there is ample room upon the beautiful farm, which private individuals have already co-operated with the government in purchasing. And unfortunately there are children within our borders who are the proper objects, and sufficient in numbers to occupy such extended accommodations.”

The first Report of the officers and trustees of this institution forms an extremely interesting document of nearly one hundred pages, and gives a full account of the establishment of the school, of its opening, its progress for the first year of its organization, and the method of its government. After disposing of these topics, the Superintendent introduces, as an appendix to his own Report, a “Comprehensive View of the more prominent European Preventive Institutions, with a Brief Account of their Success,” in connection with which he goes into a very thorough examination of the cost which governments necessarily incur in carrying out the system of punishments after the prevailing fashion, and the immense saving which a general application of the reformatory principle to penitentiary institutions might be expected to effect.

In reading the detailed accounts of the condition of the inmates of this new home at the time when they are first presented for admission, of their ignorance, of the destitution of moral light in which they seem to have been born and bred, and of their utter incapacity to comprehend the reason why they are received here and cared for so kindly and attentively, the first impression is of the timeliness of the aid; for it reveals that apathy of the moral faculties which only precedes their extinction. It shows these unfortunates surrendering themselves hopelessly to the darkness that is coming upon them, without a thought of the contrast between what they are and what they might be. And it shows, too, that in every instance there is a spark yet unquenched, a light still burning, though dimly amid the darkness, which, with proper care, may be expanded into the steady flame of reason and virtue that lights the human soul on its way through the world. Perhaps the next impression which the reader receives is of the truth which has been so often maintained and illustrated, namely, that, of all the evil and perversity of human life, it is impossible to judge how much is to be ascribed to the individual, and how much to society. After the examples cited from the Superintendent's actual experience, extending over a period of but little more than three months, it seems impossible to exaggerate the influence of association and custom. Take the following as an every-day instance of the rapidity with which a change in character — we had almost said in nature — follows a corresponding change in association and treatment.

“Striking results could hardly be expected in so short a period; yet, gentlemen, you have seen a wonderful change in the appearance, habits, and moral character of some of our inmates. One of your number will recollect the remark he made when two squalid little girls were brought into the Superintendent's office. ‘You have two hard cases this time.’ They were submitted to the double purification of fire and water, the ragged, vermin-infested garments to the former, the occupants of them to the latter. In a few weeks the ‘hard cases’ could not be designated by the gentlemen among the happy faces of the work-room; two of our most promising and attractive girls answer to the names which these little outcasts bore. They came from an atmosphere of pollution and a home of sin, — their parents criminals, them-

selves unlettered little vagabonds. They were obstinate and morose at first, but now they are earnestly learning; their very faces seem to have brightened up with intelligence; the gypsy blood which burned in their veins has lost its fever, and there are no more peaceful or happy children in our home. 'You don't know what a nice home we have,' said one of them to the officer that brought her, who visited the school again with another girl. 'I've got a new dress, we have a good mother, — we don't say wicked words now.'

Of the mode of discipline adopted in the treatment of refractory children, an idea may be gained from the following extract.

"Two sisters came to the school, — good-looking American girls. They had been permitted to run nearly wild; the father worked daily in a neighboring city, and the stepmother could not, or did not, control them, although exceedingly liberal in the application of blows. The youngest girl wandered in the streets, — picked up old iron upon the wharves to sell for the smaller articles that she needed. They were perfectly lawless. In a few days they became so sour and impertinent, so obstinate in refusing work, that it seemed impossible to live in the house with them. The chaplain of the Westborough school visited us, and attended prayers in the morning. At the close of the devotions, both girls came to him and asked him, bursting into tears together as they made the inquiry, if he knew their brother, who is an inmate of the school. It at once occurred to me that the key to their reformation had been discovered. In a day or two, both girls being shut up for ill-behavior, in different rooms, the older one cried aloud in her passion, and the younger, unable to restrain her feelings, burst through a window to reach her sister, without any regard to the consequences of the act upon herself. The matron sent for me, and the course to be pursued was too distinctly indicated by Providence to be overlooked. I first went to the older sister. 'You love L., do you not?' 'Yes, sir,' she answered, melting at once, quite thrown off her guard by the unexpected character of the question. 'You wish to have *her* a good girl, do you not?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Do you not think we are doing all we can to have her one?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Do you not think that if you do wrong, and become so obstinate and angry, it has a bad effect upon her?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Can we save L. if you do not help us?' 'No, sir.' 'Will you try from to-day to help us, if we will continue to do all we can?' 'Yes, sir.' She was, for the first time, utterly subdued. The love she had for her sister was the strongest affection in her heart, and she was true to her word. I went to L. and introduced very much

the same line of questionings, with the same result. A new and solemn idea was received by both sisters, — that the salvation of the other depended in a good degree upon herself. From that time there appeared a noticeable change in their whole appearance and habit; their countenances brightened up, and they entered, particularly the younger, without questioning, upon their portion of the house-work, becoming both a comfort and a material aid to the Matron.”

What a noble work is here begun! What a satisfaction to the heart of the Superintendent and Matron, and all who have a part in it, must come from such transformations as that just detailed! What an incentive to the enthusiastic continuance of effort! What a confidence in human nature, however depressed or degraded; what a reliance on the irresistible sway of love, and kindness, and forbearance, over all the powers of darkness which seek dominion in the souls of these children! Truly,

“The deepest ice that ever froze
Can only o’er the surface close;
The living stream runs quick below, —
It flows, and cannot cease to flow.”

With one more extract we will take our leave of this interesting and instructive Report. The Superintendent thus describes the arrival and condition of

“*The First Inmate.* — August 29th. In the one o’clock train from Boston, on the second day after the opening of the school, an officer appeared, bringing the first recipient of this thoughtful charity of the State. J. M. S——, of Haverhill, a girl of thirteen, delicate in appearance, poorly clad (her mother having retained her best clothing for her own use), with a pleasant face, having been guilty of petty thieving, and been charged with vagrancy and idleness, became a child of the State. She has been thoroughly estranged from her mother; her father has been dead for three years. The repulsion between the mother and daughter seems to have been mutual. If J——’s account of the matter is correct, she bade her mother ‘Good by’ when she left her, and her mother’s response was, ‘Good riddance.’ The girl, although but thirteen, had been for some time placed out at service; she had fallen into families of questionable character, had chosen improper associates, and was in the high road to ruin. The deputy sheriff had for more than a year had his eye upon her, as a suitable object for the training of an institution like ours. He had waited impatiently for its

completion, and within fifteen minutes after he had read the proclamation of the Governor, announcing its opening, he presented himself to the judge of probate, with the proper testimony to secure her admission. Having been for a number of years without restraint or cultivation, J—— will require incessant care, patience, kindness, and moral influence on the part of the matrons.”

This institution, as we have said, is the first which has extended its timely aid in behalf of the unhappy multitude of imperilled girls. It is only just to observe, in this connection, that its example has been promptly followed by the State of New Hampshire, whose projected House of Reformation, at Manchester, makes provision for girls as well as for boys, in the proportion of about one to six. In accounting for the numerical disparity, it must be remembered that the state of society which furnishes the objects for this charity exists, for the most part, though not exclusively, in large communities; and as New Hampshire has no cities of great magnitude, her provision is undoubtedly ample, at least for the present.

The Boston Houses of Industry and Reformation are now combined in one institution. Its usefulness is found to increase with age, and the various additions and improvements it has received from time to time have all been warranted by the results which it continues to effect. The reports of its directors are issued in May of each year, accompanied by various tabular statements of the expenditures and receipts, the employments of the inmates, the products of their labor on the farm or otherwise, and the admissions, commitments, and discharges for the year. From the report issued in May, 1856, it appears that, during the preceding year, the South Boston department received by committals from the various courts 121 boys, and by return, 3, which, with the number remaining at the commencement of the year, made up a total of 238 inmates, of whom 76 were discharged by the courts, apprenticed, or otherwise dismissed, leaving 162 remaining; while at Deer Island, which is much the larger of the two departments, the number of admissions was 231, of committals 1264, and of births 3, which, added to 305 remaining at the commencement of the year, made up a total of 1803. Of these, 1439 were discharged during the year,

and 33 died ; leaving at its close a total of 331 inmates,—161 boys, and 170 girls. With these details may be shown the workings of the Boylston Asylum, also located at South Boston, and in immediate connection with the two institutions above noticed. To this asylum the courts committed 36, and the directors admitted 60, which with 103 who began the year made 199 ; of these, 104 were discharged or deserted, leaving 95, of whom 19 were females.

These may perhaps be taken as fair representatives of this class of institutions at home. Our chief object is to give a brief account of the manner in which they are managed in other countries than ours. The two European institutions of reform whose reputation is the most widely extended, are probably those at Hamburg, in the North of Germany, and at Mettray, in France. One would think that, if difference in government and society could exercise any material influence in varying the character of the charitable institutions of two countries, that influence would be nowhere more strongly exerted, or the difference more strikingly exhibited, than in the comparison of these two examples. The character of the French government is sufficiently well known, and needs no exposition. That of Hamburg may not be so generally comprehended, and a brief summary of its forms may therefore not be altogether out of place. Hamburg is the largest and the most important of the four cities which, out of seventy-two, constitute by their union all that remains of the once great and powerful Hanseatic League. It is essentially a free city and a free port, and comprises within itself and some inconsiderable suburbs the entire population of the state, unencumbered by provinces or dependencies. The number of its inhabitants at the close of the year 1855 was 164,145. Its government is republican, but of a form quite remarkable among republics, and until latterly was composed of so complicated and confused a system of law-making and law-ratifying bodies, that it is difficult to understand how any legislation could have been legally matured. A conviction of this difficulty would seem to have forced itself upon the minds of the burghers of Hamburg ; for in 1848, the government, actuated either by some such conviction, or by a reluctance to remain

quiet when all the rest of Europe was boiling with popular and governmental agitation, decreed the convocation of a constituent assembly for revising the constitution; and this assembly, by the aid of a commission of nine members elected from the senate and the people, finally relieved the state of many of the burdensome forms which had previously encumbered its action and progress. That valuable little repository, the "Almanach de Gotha" for the year 1851, gives the following account of the result of their deliberations, which terminated in 1849.

"According to the articles of the revised constitution, the senate is composed of fifteen members, of whom seven must have studied law and finance, while six out of the remaining eight must represent the commercial interest. Four burgomasters and four syndics, the former elected for life, are associated with the senate, and any vacancy in their body is filled as follows. The senate nominates three of its members, the citizens (*bourgeoisie*) nominate four of their number. These seven designate to the senate four candidates, of whom two are presented by the senate to the people, who choose one of them. The general assembly (*Gemeinhalle*) is composed of 192 members, of whom one half are chosen from all the inhabitants of Hamburg under its jurisdiction, aged twenty-five years and upwards, and paying taxes on their income. Of the other half, 48 are landholders (*fonciers*), elected by the proprietors whose estates are valued at 3,000 marks above their debts, and 48 represent the courts of law, the various branches of commerce and manufactures, the educational establishments, and the more important departments of the administration, particularly the finances. This last body of 48 is nominated by the various authorities. The *Gemeinhalle* names from its own body the civil committee of twenty members, who in cases of emergency assist the senate in the performance of its duties. The senate also names from itself, by secret ballot, a first and second burgomaster to preside over its sittings for the term of one year, no officer thus chosen being allowed to receive more than one re-election."

From this account we should infer that there still remains sufficient complication for a government whose responsibility is limited by a population of less than two hundred thousand. It is easy to perceive, however, that, under this crowd of legislators, the smallness of the state and population to be governed is an inestimable advantage; for to apply these same

forms to the administration of a country like our own, would be to multiply contentions and disputes until legislation became impossible. But in Hamburg these evil results are so slightly developed as to be nearly inappreciable, and the contentment evinced by the people with the government as now simplified, and the attention they pay to the establishment and maintenance of various charitable institutions, each a model in its way, may be taken as sufficient proof that the general prosperity is not materially hindered by all these details of governmental machinery which we have enumerated. Of these institutions, only one falls within our province, namely, the *Rauhe Haus*.

It is a colony, pleasantly planted among the fresh fields and meadows in the beautiful suburbs of the town, and about three miles from it. You reach it by smooth roads, well kept and cared for, lined with green hedges, and strewn with home-like residences, with here and there an old Dutch-gabled grange, with the traditional stork standing by its nest upon the heavy thatched roof. The landscape, if it has not the glow of an Italian plain, is at least free from the manifest evils which swarm on that beautiful soil; and the air of comfort, taste, and thriving industry, the cleanly-dressed peasants who meet you on the road, and the well-tilled and productive fields on either hand, make ample amends for the absence of that luxuriance which is so often the companion of decay. It is in such a neighborhood that the *Rauhe Haus* is established. It has about forty acres of land, all under careful cultivation.

The commencement of this noted institution was marked by a simplicity, and an apparent unconsciousness of its ultimate growth, which offer a striking contrast to most of the charities of later days. As long ago as 1833, Mr. J. H. Wichern,* a young "candidate" of Hamburg, residing in the suburban village of Horn, becoming deeply impressed with the increasing wretchedness of a large portion of the juvenile population of the neighboring city, endeavored to do what he could to alleviate it by taking into his own family three boys, of the most unpromising appearance and habits, and teaching

* An interesting sketch of the life of Mr. Wichern may be found in the *American Journal of Education* for March of the last year.

them to consider his house their home. They were employed in the daily labors of the small farm, instructed during a portion of the day in various simple branches of study, and controlled by a moral discipline based alike on kindness and on justice. Finding the results of this first experiment all that he could desire, and more than he dared to expect at the outset, he gradually increased the number of boys to twelve, and with this larger number was still rewarded with the same success. He then laid the matter before a meeting of influential citizens of Hamburg, who had given him encouragement from the beginning, and declared his determination, with proper support, to extend his accommodations, to secure all necessary assistants and coadjutors in the work, and, considering his enterprise an experiment no longer, to endeavor to organize it into an institution. His appeals were readily responded to, and an administrative council was formed, composed of syndics, senators, and professors. Continued support and encouragement were promised to Mr. Wichern, who was appointed Superintendent; he secured a small corps of able and willing assistants, and the work has gone steadily on to this day. In the beginning Mr. Wichern discovered that the few were more easily governed than the many, and that in the first cottage where the experiment was inaugurated, the difficulty increased greatly as he increased the number of his *protégés* beyond twelve. This fact, then, he made the basis of his future extensions, and the "family system" was established, which, as opposed to the method heretofore employed in our country, of gathering hundreds of vicious and neglected children within the walls of one enormous structure, has been the theme of so much discussion. Thus all the houses that rose one by one, and grouped themselves around the original Rough House (which gave its name to the institution), were in the form of cottages, adapted each to the accommodation of one "family," simply designed and constructed, and for the most part built by the boys themselves.

We had the pleasure of visiting the Rough House in the summer of 1855, with an introductory note to Mr. Wichern; and in his absence we were very courteously received by one of his assistant officers, who with the kindest attention con-

ducted us over every portion of the establishment. At that time the number of buildings had increased to more than twenty, including about a dozen family cottages, a chapel, a school-house, shops for joiners, tailors, and shoemakers, a bakery, a printing-office and a bindery, (in all of which the boys are regularly employed,) besides the necessary farm buildings, and a residence for the Superintendent and his family. Pleasant garden-plats intervene among the houses. These are cultivated by the boys in their hours of leisure, each boy having his own little flower-bed, and being encouraged in a sort of friendly competition with his associates as to the evidence which it shall exhibit of his taste and care. A sufficient number of boys is always reserved for the farm labors, after which, and during the season when little work is required on the grounds, the boys are allowed to choose their own vocations from the list above given. Beside these occupations, a portion of each day is devoted to the business of education, both with the boys and with the girls, of whom there are perhaps twenty or upwards (their number never exceeding one fifth that of the boys), and who for the rest perform the domestic offices of the establishment, in the neatest and most acceptable manner, under the direction of a matron. The children sleep and eat in "families," each family occupying a cottage by itself, and preserving as far as possible all the relations of a family, without connection with any other. At the head of each family of boys is a "Brother," who sleeps in the same room with them, presides at their table, superintends their labors on the farm or in the shops, and exercises a general care and supervision over them. These brothers form a class who have been sufficiently long in the institution to have gained the confidence of its officers, and to be qualified for the duty of overlooking others, and who, after receiving here a respectable education, devote their lives to duties of a similar nature, as city missionaries, keepers of prisons, teachers, or in whatever sphere of benevolent action they may find open to them. The two families of girls have each a "Sister," who holds the same relation towards them that the brothers hold to the boys.

The greater portion of the materials needed for the kitchen

are raised on the farm; the furniture of the houses is made in the joiner's shop; the literature of the institution is issued from its printing-office; and, altogether, the establishment bears very much the character of an independent and self-sustaining community. The inmates are mostly from ten to twenty-one years of age, and remain for about five years. When they leave the colony, they do not altogether depart from its care; for a certain watchfulness is maintained over them, and a constant though silent influence exerted, which shields them when they are unaware of any protection but their past experience. Within, the system of discipline is gentle, though firm; the conduct of boys and girls is generally satisfactory; and a desertion is a thing almost unheard of, though there are no walls or bars. Everything gives assurance of prosperity, usefulness, and content, and there was but one detail of the economy to which we could object as injudicious. This is the formation of a separate class of boys derived from better families than the rest, but whose unruly habits previously to entering the *Rauhe Haus* rendered them fit subjects for its discipline. They sleep in better beds, wear better clothes, eat better food, and are in all respects elevated above their companions, forming a kind of aristocracy quite at variance with the character and design of the institution. This, however, is at the worst but a trifling blemish, and does not at all interfere with the good effects of the *Rauhe Haus*, whose beneficial results may be imagined from the fact, that, of all the recipients of its charities who have left it at the expiration of their terms, it is known that at least ninety per cent have continued good members of society.

Some three months later we visited the "Agricultural Colony" of Mettray, on the Loire, six miles from the city of Tours. Mettray is somewhat younger than the *Rough House*, and may be said to have originated in the observations of a commission, which left France in 1837 for the purpose of studying the penitentiaries of the United States. To the most active member of this commission, M. de Metz, is to be ascribed the establishment of the colony, which followed close upon his return from America, in 1839. The Count de Courteilles made the offer of an estate belonging to him, near

Tours, which was gratefully accepted, and the managers proceeded to erect the necessary buildings. The family system was adopted, as at Hamburg, though in a modified form, the family divisions being larger. Here they allowed fifty boys for each family, and their buildings were constructed in conformity with this arrangement. They are all alike, each three stories in height, and measuring twenty feet by forty. The first five were built in less than six months from the commencement of the enterprise. This number has now increased to ten, and the houses are arranged on two sides of a spacious square, of which the chapel occupies a third, and two buildings of a different character the fourth. Between these two last-mentioned buildings is the gate of entrance. Other buildings, required for an institution of this magnitude, (for the colony in 1855 numbered six hundred and sixty boys,) such as a school-house, work-houses, and, lastly, a prison, are situated in symmetrical order around the church, the prison communicating with a portion of it in such manner that the prisoners can, without leaving their confinement, hear the services and see the officiating priest.

The objects of this institution are essentially the same with those of the Rough House, and the arrangement and method of the colony were in part copied from those of its German predecessor; and yet there are some points of contrast. In the first place, the boys are all taken from the various prisons of the country, and are therefore considered as under an obligation to do penance, and entitled to as little enjoyment from their colonial life as possible. Thus the whole course of their daily experience and duties is more austere than at Hamburg. They rise very early, and work very long, with comparatively little recreation. They have no pleasant garden spots to cultivate; they sleep in hammocks; they eat meat only three times a week (and this with nine or ten hours of hard work per day, and for boys of ten to twenty years, is little less than barbarous); they must not talk, either at their work or in their rooms. All this is very different from the mild discipline of the Rough House. The following list of the punishments to which offenders are subjected at Mettray seems also to show either a more refractory class of boys under the care of the

institution, or a less kindly and parental feeling in those who make its laws, than is found at Hamburg. 1. Effacing the name from the table of honor; 2. Placing the boy under restraint; 3. Hard labor; 4. Black bread and water; 5. Confinement in a lighted cell; 6. Confinement in a dark cell; 7. Return to the central prison. It does not appear that, with this ascending scale of punishments, the discipline is more successfully enforced, or order more effectually preserved, than at the Rough House.

It is here that we are led to notice the effect of the government on institutions. It seems perfectly natural to refer this harshness of discipline, this sternness of authority and command, which cannot fail to be recognized as penetrating even to the smallest detail in the regulations of Mettray, to the prevailing trait of the French government, — military, despotic, almost autocratic command. It is a trait which has extended in France from the government to the people, and is detected in the ordinary transactions of life. No one can travel a league by railroad, or even mount a diligence, without experiencing its influence. It governs the construction of steamboats, which on the smoothest rivers or lakes are fashioned and commanded like men-of-war. It prevails in theatres, in museums, in manufactories, and in churches. Such being the case, it is not strange that it should display itself in the government of an institution which, reformatory though it be, is also to a certain extent regarded as penal. It is not strange that the boys should be assembled in the morning by the blast of the trumpet, and pass under a military review before marching off to breakfast to the beat of the drum; or that they should be at every hour, by day or night, sleeping or waking, subjected to the rigid *surveillance* of an officer, — open superintendence by day, and at night a secret espionage from behind a blind which conceals a recess in the sleeping-room. It is not strange, but it is nevertheless unsatisfactory to an American observer. It may, however, be partially justified by the fact, that, though Mettray is styled an agricultural colony, and though three fifths of the actual inmates are employed in agricultural labors, yet, on their departure, a comparatively large proportion of them enter the army and navy; rather

more than one fourth of the eight hundred and fifty-six pupils who have left Mettray being now engaged in one or the other of those branches of the public service, and similar results being anticipated in the future by the rigid observance of military forms in all things. This method is amusingly illustrated by the manœuvres which are gone through at bed-time in each house. The same room serves for a living, dining, and sleeping room, and the hammocks are suspended at one end against two opposite walls, and at the other fastened to two lines of posts running down the centre of the room. The head of the family takes his position at one end of the room, and summons the boys to their hammocks by a clap of the hands. At the second clap each boy dislodges one end of his hammock, and at the third he springs with it to the hook which is to receive it, and there fixes it; a fourth clap brings each boy into position by the side of his hammock, and at the fifth he springs into it, and his military duties are over for the day. Any predisposition to enter the navy which may discover itself among the boys is encouraged by regular training in a sort of skeleton ship planted in the ground, and fitted with masts, yards, and rigging.

As at Hamburg, the care of the institution is not wholly lost to the pupil when he leaves the colony. A watchful eye is kept over his conduct, and any signal instance of success in his career is acknowledged, and rewarded by a public announcement to the inmates who remain. Thus, when in the late battles in the Crimea some of the glory was found to be due to soldiers who had once been pupils at Mettray, the decorations they received were sent home to the parent colony, and hung upon the walls of the house in which they lived when there. The emulous enthusiasm which such testimonials would awaken in these young Frenchmen may be readily imagined. The success or good behavior of those who leave Mettray is estimated as bearing about the same proportion as at the Rough House, somewhat less than ten per cent having relapsed into vicious lives. This, after all, is the great test, and with a result so gratifying one may overlook the defects, and content himself with admiring the self-sacrifice and devotion of the two French gentlemen who devised this benevolent enterprise, and carried it so successfully into execution.

If we examine the institutions of Hamburg and Mettray, with a view to discover the principle which lies at the root of their usefulness and success, which enables the superintendents so easily to preserve order by day and by night, which throws around these simple roofs and walls, and over these little patches of grass or flowers, an air of contentment and of happiness, which removes from the minds of the overseers all fear of desertion, and from those of the pupils all desire of escape, we shall find it in that wise regulation so early adopted by Mr. Wichern, which we have before mentioned as the *Family System*. Essentially the same at both these great institutions, it overbalances in each all the minor deficiencies and errors, and at once brings them into harmony within themselves and with each other. It is this principle which Americans, in looking across the water for aid in forming similar establishments at home, should most thoroughly impress upon themselves. This is the lesson we have to learn, — that it is not by creating an imposing institution, locating it in an edifice of palatial size and massive front, and inaugurating its operation by speech and procession and display, that the true inspiration can be gained which shall lend to the charity all its usefulness and efficiency. Four or five hundred vagrant boys, taken from the foulness of their early life in the streets, gathered promiscuously together under one great roof, and subjected daily to some sort of mechanical discipline and instruction, are not therefore necessarily reformed, or in any likelihood of being reformed. All this is done in almshouses, for a different end. All this is done in jails, for an end still more remote. For *reform*, more is needed. But such in our land is the passion for immediate effect, such the impatience of anything like humility in our institutions, that, until the establishment of the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, the gregarious system above alluded to enjoyed a full monopoly of the great institutions of charity, whether reform schools, almshouses, or hospitals. If a reform school was to be built for five hundred boys, the commissioners never asked what was to be the system on which the institution was to be conducted. That the building was to be palatial was determined at the outset, and the daily duties of the inmates were to be

gregariously performed. Thus has arisen a cloud of establishments among us, of which, perhaps, the State School at Westborough may be taken as a favorable example. Much dissatisfaction is expressed in regard to the practical working of the Westborough School; and this, not from any doubt as to the watchfulness of its government in general, or the efficiency of its officers individually; but from a reasonable doubt whether, under any government, a multitude of boys could be indiscriminately brought together beneath one roof, and as one family, eating in crowds, sleeping in crowds, working in crowds, with no more than the general superintendence that is possible under such circumstances, and manifest as the result of such aggregation the genuine *reform*, in character, manners, and tendencies, which it is the aim of the institution to promote and advance. The contrast between this system and the "family system," as practised at Hamburg and Mettray, is too striking. The necessary superiority of the latter as a means of reform is too obvious to need any elaborate demonstration. Nothing more than the most cursory examination is necessary to convince any one of it, and we are glad that the trustees who were appointed to give to the Lancaster School its organization were led so promptly to the adoption of this beneficent system of families and homes. We have no doubt that, as it is the first American institution in which a similar organization has had trial, so its success will be such as to leave no question in any mind as to the wisdom which has led to its establishment among us.

Here we might leave the subject. But we cannot refrain from briefly alluding to the manner in which the spirit of contradiction has manifested itself since the interest in the reformatory institutions has become so general. One would hardly think that any man, in reviewing the history and observing the effects of the more prominent of these charities, would be drawn, on the one hand, to the conviction that the men by whose devotion and labor they were first established, and have been since maintained, were no better than sentimental, unpractical visionaries; or, on the other, to the idea that whatever efforts are to be made towards the reformation of criminals are to be conducted entirely by individuals,

who are on no account to be aided by State action. Yet both these notions have found place in the minds of many men in our own country and in England, though the enunciation of them has been chiefly confined to the latter country.

The leader of that body of cavillers who have nothing but their ridicule for such men as Howard, Wilberforce, Clarkson, or Granville Sharp, and for such women as Elizabeth Fry and Miss Dix, who execrate all kindness to criminals, who scoff at all attempts at reform, who would substitute the prison for the reform school, the gallows for the prison, and extermination for punishment, is undoubtedly Mr. Carlyle, the grotesque savageness of whose railing has made his writings on this topic very widely known on both sides of the ocean. His views and feelings towards the criminal classes are poured forth with a peculiarly concentrated fervor, which leaves no doubt of their sincerity, in that one of his series of "Latter-Day Pamphlets" published in March, 1850, under the title of "Modern Prisons." The following extract is by no means an unfair specimen of the temper and character of the essay, which certainly seems more like the ravings of a man wild with rage, than the calm reflections of a philosopher.

"If I had a commonwealth to reform or govern, certainly it should not be the Devil's regiments of the line that I would first of all concentrate my attention on. With them I should be apt to make rather brief work; to them one would try to apply the besom, — try to sweep *them* with some rapidity into the dust-bin, and well out of one's road, I should rather say. Fill your threshing-floor with docks, ragweeds, mugworths, and ply your flail upon them, — that is not the method to obtain sacks of wheat. Away, you! begone swiftly, *ye* regiments of the line; in the name of God and his poor struggling servants, sore put to it to live in these bad days, I mean to rid myself of you with some degree of brevity. To feed you in palaces, to hire captains and schoolmasters and the choicest spiritual and material artificers to expend their industries on you! No, by the Eternal! I have quite other work for that class of artists, — seven and twenty millions of neglected mortals who have not yet quite declared for the Devil. Mark it, my diabolic friends, I mean to lay leather on the backs of you, collars round the necks of you, and will teach you after the manner of the gods, that this world is not your inheritance, nor glad to see you in it. You, *ye* diabolic canaille, what has a governor much to do with you?

Who are you, ye thriftless sweepings of creation, that we must for ever be pestered with you? Revenge, my friends, revenge, and the natural hatred of scoundrels, and the ineradicable tendency to *revancher* one's self upon them, and pay them what they have merited, this is for evermore intrinsically a correct and even a divine feeling in the mind of every man."

It is certainly a relief to turn from this species of philosophy, which does not call for any reasoning wherewith to meet its attacks, to that of another class of men, who, holding strong doubts of the advisableness or utility of reformatory institutions in general, have no doubt whatever as to the incompetency of governments to assume the charge of them. The views of this class have been set forth with ability and fairness in "The Economist," a weekly London journal, and also in a work published some years since by Mr. Herbert Spencer, entitled, "Social Statics." In this work, he does not treat especially of reformatory institutions; but in a chapter on National Education, the whole course of his argument is applicable equally to intellectual and moral education. Starting from the premises that the government of a state is instituted solely to protect the rights of the citizens, and that every citizen has an equal right with every other, he arrives at the following conclusion:—

"Inasmuch as the taking away by government of more of a man's property than is needful for maintaining his rights is an infringement of his rights, and therefore a reversal of the government's function towards him; and inasmuch as the taking away of his property to educate his own or other people's children is not needful for the maintaining of his rights, — the taking away of his property for such a purpose is wrong."

He thus, by pure reasoning, and not from any motive of expediency or utility, deduces the wrongfulness of all governmental interference in establishing schools, churches, almshouses, hospitals, or any other institution, not expressly and directly serving to the protection of the absolute rights of the citizen. Had we time or space, it would be at least interesting to inquire whether this same protection does not call for the establishment of some of these institutions, so sweepingly excluded from all governmental aid by Mr. Spen-

cer's reasoning, and whether, taking it for granted that a certain degree of protection is afforded by prisons, a still more assured protection would not be gained by a class of institutions whose influence should be successfully exerted towards removing the necessity for prisons. Mr. Spencer apparently anticipates this inquiry by a general scepticism as to the influence or effectiveness of reformatory establishments.

“The expectation that crime may presently be cured, whether by state education, or the silent system, or the separate system, or any other system, is one of those Utopianisms fallen into by people who pride themselves on being practical. Crime is incurable, save by that gradual process of adaptation to the social state which humanity ‘is undergoing. Crime is the continual breaking out of the old unadapted nature, — the index of a character unfitted to its conditions, — and only as fast as the unfitness diminishes can crime diminish. To hope for some prompt method of putting down crime, is, in reality, to hope for some prompt method of putting down all evils, laws, governments, taxation, poverty, caste, and the rest ; for they and crime have the same root. Reforming men's conduct without reforming their natures is impossible ; and to expect that their natures may be reformed otherwise than by the forces which are slowly civilizing us, is visionary. . . . It is not by humanly-devised agencies, good as these may be in their way, but it is by the never-ceasing action of circumstances upon men — by the constant pressure of their new conditions upon them — that the required change is mainly effected.”

We should substitute “characters” for “natures” in the last sentence but one of the above, and should then say that so comprehensive an assumption may well be denied until it is proved, even in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary ; but when that evidence exists, as we conceive it to exist, in the successful operation and undoubted usefulness of such institutions as those at Hamburg and Mettray in Europe, in the satisfactory workings of so youthful an enterprise as that at Lancaster at home, and in the success of many other establishments of which these are the types, it seems a wilful blindness to reiterate the proposition, that in the unaided, natural operation of “the forces which are slowly civilizing us,” lies the only hope of diminishing crime or increasing virtue. Even admitting this, it might be asked, What are these forces,

if they are not human forces? What is to civilize the world, if not the men to whom it is given? "*Aide-toi, et le ciel t'aidera,*" is the old proverb of the French; and if all the earnest souls and vigorous minds of the world are to lie down and wait for some mysterious and indefinite "forces" to work out the salvation which they were put here to work out for themselves and their kind, we may look for a rapid retrogression in the ages that are to come, in place of the steady advance which the centuries have witnessed heretofore. And although the progress and developement of human character and life in the mass may be mainly independent of the conditions of individual morality, and the reputation of the race is undisturbed by one murder or a series of murders, still it is difficult to see how this admission lessens our obligation to provide diligently for such improvement as we may hope to effect in the classes whose influence is admitted to be evil, even while their power is believed to be small; for the power of an evil example is at least as great as that of a good example, and by removing the former we give larger scope and opportunity to the latter.

But in the mean time it behooves us to take all possible care that whatever institutions we establish, whether private or public, educational, reformatory, or penal, should never be allowed to degenerate into mere mechanical action, but that underlying all action, all discipline, all forms, pervading the whole conduct and daily existence of the school, the refuge, the prison, should be found the life-giving soul of a strong, earnest, sincere, and hopeful purpose. No enthusiasm can be misplaced, no energy misapplied, in educating and reforming those unfortunate beings whom misery and want have degraded into error, vice, and crime. It is time that the once terrible word "Utopianism" should be laid aside, or used more generously than in discouraging this noblest aim of philanthropy. Nothing in institutions is ever so perfect that study and care cannot improve it. There is never a time when, having taken into our hands the work of reform, and carried it forward till the public are satisfied, we are at liberty to sit down and fold our arms and be content to leave it to its own tendencies. As the age advances, so do the demands upon us continually

multiply ; and we may be sure that, so long as the perishing classes and the dangerous classes form a portion, however small, of the population of large cities, the enthusiasm of benevolence, the energy of charity, will never be forced to content itself with copying the efforts of dead generations.

- ART. IV.—1. *Histoire de la République de Venise.* Par P. DARU, de l'Académie Française. Deuxième édition. Paris : Firmin Didot Père et Fils. 1821. 8 vols. Gros 8vo.
2. *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age.* Par J. C. L. SIMONDE DE SISMONDI. Paris : Firmin Didot Frères. Nouvelle édition. 1840. 10 vols. 8vo.
3. *Ruskin's "Stones of Venice."* London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1851-53. 3 vols. Royal 8vo.
4. *Lady Montague's Letters.*
5. *Travels in Italy, Spain, and Portugal.* By the Author of "Vathek" (BECKFORD). New York : Wiley and Putnam. 1845.
6. *Fragments of Italy and the Rhineland.* By the Rev. F. H. WHITE. London. 1851. 12mo.
7. *Venice, the City of the Sea.* By EDMUND FLAGG. New York. 1849. 2 vols. 12mo.
8. *Random Sketches, and Notes of European Travel.* By REV. JOHN E. EDWARDS, A. M. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1857.

OF the works enumerated above, the two most important are by French writers. Mr. Ruskin's noble volumes relate almost exclusively to the architecture of ancient Venice ; but nothing worthy of that famous city, of an historical nature, has appeared in the English language. Lady Montague has drawn a few vivid pictures of it, as it existed during the eighteenth century, in her Letters, which we read with delight to-day ; and the author of Vathek also charms us by descriptions of his brief sojourn there while a Doge yet existed. With these exceptions, although thousands of intelligent travellers have visited the "City of the Sea," scarce one, with the